1: Steinen--i D,E 5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

●114

Dr. Clauss Dr. K. von den Steinen W. von den Steinen

Dr. Karl von den Steinen and his traveling companions.

Frontispiece.

/vii/

Foreword

114 In September of the year 1883 His Majesty's ship "Marie" safely delivered in Montevideo the German South Polar Expedition returning from the island of South Georgia. While the rest of the members returned home, Dr. Clauss and I remained at La Plata in order to take advantage of the favorable opportunity for a journey of exploration into the interior of South America, together with my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, who was already awaiting us there, as had been arranged.

121 After my initially cherished plan to explore the Rio Pilcomayo was thwarted as a result of the expedition of Herr Thouar, which had just then been successfully completed, we turned our attention to the Schingú /Xingu/, the largest still unknown river of the South American continent, which promised interesting disclosures, especially from an anthropological point of view.

122 The German Minister-Resident in Buenos Aires, Herr Baron von Holleben, supported us in the most active and gracious manner. Through the good offices of the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires, Herr Cavalcanti Lacerda, the Imperial Ministry was induced to provide us with a military escort.

114 Our trio was not unfavorably constituted for the purpose. Dr. Clauss was a physicist, my cousin a painter. The anthropological-ethnological part of the program fell to me as a physician who had already gathered some experiences from a journey around the world. My cousin had brought along the necessary instruments. He had prepared himself for a few months at the Hamburg Naval Observatory, under the kind supervision of the Privy Admiralty Councilor, Professor Dr. Neumayer; he was also helped by the latter's advice in the selection and procurement of the instruments.

[122] Since the president of the province of Mato Grosso, Herr Baron von Batovy, agreed to our wishes with the greatest readiness, success could not be lacking. Thus, we set out from Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ at the end of May in the year 1884 and reached Pará at the end of October.

1: Steinen--ix),E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/xiv/

102
103
114
131
133

/108 cont./

122 The supply would not last a month longer, and we were at 14° 13' 6" south latitude; the Schingú sources were supposed to be two degrees of longitude eastward, and hence Melgaço lay perhaps only at 11° south latitude.

ooo /109/ We did some figuring, and we counted our cash; each of us had taken along a few pounds sterling in case we should conceivably land somewhere else on our travels than at the Schingú mouth; our total wealth amounted to about 300 milreis (600 marks). We had the advantage that we were able to choose the best people, and we set great store by this circumstance; for if a few of our traveling companions up to this point belonged to the bad elements of the Mato Grosso garrison, it was also certain that some of the people positively deserved high marks chiefly for the qualities of reliability, skill, and stamina.

Castro willingly agreed to our plans; 12 people were to go home, the sergeant and the cadet at their head; we provisioned them as far as Rosario and gave them two oxen which in any case did not seem to have the ambition to bear the burden of life as far as the Schingú sources.

In Tupy's escort there were the old cavalry hero Januario and the soldier Gabriel from the picket.

• 114 The names of those who went on with us were the following: Clementino, the active butcher-boy and José Maria from the picket, the sergeant Norberto, Israel, Satyr, Quintiliano, Merelles, Irineo, Rufino, Braga, Chico, Manoel, the Corneta, all of Negro, mulatto, or pure Indian descent, except three. Irineo was Paraguayan and spoke the lingoa geral /universal language/.

122 We planned to provision ourselves at the fazenda on the Paranatinga; from there on the mules were to be used only as beasts of burden, and the staff as well as the men were to go on foot.

/129 cont./

ooo money; it would be a /130/ shame to return home without having accomplished anything. We would rather perish with two or three in the sertão than make ourselves ridiculous before the entire country. Anyone who would like to go back is

•114

Our four "Kameraden."
Antonio. Valentin. Pedro.
Daniel.

ooo free to do so." Then Tupy: We had told him that we no longer had any confidence in him, the commander, therefore -- he

/For a detailed map of the author's journey as outlined in the text of this source, see category 116, pp. 664-684./

/v/

Foreword

●114
[576]

ámа! -- you!
úra! -- I!

So runs the simple formula with which people introduce themselves to each other on the Kulisehu, and I would gladly spare the kind reader what follows, if I did not also have to bid him to greet my "younger brothers," my companions on the journey, and, in addition, have a few other things at heart.

[601] For "younger brother" and "cousin" the Indians have one and the same word; thus, their designation truly fits our special artist, Wilhelm von den Steinen of Düsseldorf, in its fullest sense, for, according to our concepts, he is my cousin, to be sure, but he is commonly taken for my younger brother. He rowed down the Schingú /Xingu/ with me as early as 1884.

The second man, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich of Berlin, was likewise no newcomer to Brazil; in Espíritu Santo he had already become closely acquainted with the Botokuden /Botocudo/; after the completion of our joint undertaking, he had traveled the Araguay /Araguaia/ and the Purus and thus today has probably seen more of the interior of the mighty realm than any other German traveler. He is to be thanked for the photographs and the body measurements.

The recording of the route and the astronomical findings, along with geological investigations, were undertaken by Professor Dr. Peter Vogel of Munich. In 1882-83, on the German Polar Expedition to South Georgia, whose deputy leader he was, we two shared the cramped cabin in joy and sorrow for a year; in 1887 he again felt a powerful impulse to set out, and so he was willing to carry on in new territory the work of Dr. Otto Claus, our /vi/ Antarctic colleague and the geographer of the first Schingú expedition.

/46 cont./

000 Thursday, 8 September, at 10:30 in the morning, we pushed off. Carlos sat in front, Antonio in the rear, I in the middle. A tent that we should have liked to take along had to be left behind because of its weight and exchanged for a lighter /47/ oxhide. In our haste the canoe had turned out very badly and was patchwork from the beginning. Just below me a wax-plastered crack two-thirds of a meter long broke through the bottom of the narrow piece of bark that was supposed to represent a vessel; on the sides, under the lumps of clay pasted there, little streams trickled forth slowly and incessantly, lapping one's feet.

●114 But what did it matter? I was happy. We had the definite prospect of encountering Indians; in our hearts we scarcely doubted that they would be Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. Yet come what may, we three could count on one another. Carlos, carefree, sang the Brazilian popular ballads into the forest with his harsh voice; Antonio was silent, but when I turned around, I would see his honest face beaming with good humor and love of adventure.

000 The water was calm and almost dead. We passed a few small rapids and sandbanks where we had to climb out and where I was obliged to learn anew how to walk with bare feet over pebbles and rubble. The mighty tree skeletons that lay in the river along the sides, or even bridged and intersected it, formed tedious obstacles; ducking our heads low, we sighed as we crept under the trunks or cut off the obstructing branches. Thicket on land, thicket in the water. But we were at the height of the dry season; the steep bank, which is not visible during the rainy season, loomed up five to eight meters above the surface of the water, laced with the horizontal lines of previous water levels. Thus we also passed by many sandy beaches now exposed, which for the most part were gently sloping and covered with many animal tracks.

/50 cont./

000 carriages, the lighted shops, the bustling crowd, and I gladly returned to my dark river in the primeval forest.

But are they so easily dispensed with, I asked myself in my reverie, these things that dominate and animate our whole world of feeling? One thing, at least, was certain: if the miracle, which did not happen, had happened, and a pair of the most luscious lips had suddenly smiled at me seductively from the bushes -- I would have smoked and graciously asked permission to go on smoking. The best thing, I concluded, seems to be if we are able, in the memory of finer enjoyments, to find quiet happiness in the simplest things; the philosopher of Wiedensahl is right once again: "Contentment is pleasure in things that we do not get."

And yet I would not have exchanged Berlin for the Schingú /Xingu/ simply and solely for the brown beans of the wilderness and river rapids; without a loftier purpose, that is, a hope which is rooted in serious concepts of culture, even the most unspoiled nature would very soon become intolerable. It is odd enough
[121] that our like should come over from Germany and perhaps risk his precious life here -- in order to look for the home of the Karaiben /Caribs/! "What is Hecuba to him?" What is Cuyabá and Karáiba to me?

Yet there are problems so puzzling and unfathomable that one is unable to solve them with an empty stomach, and it was fortunate that Carlos at the fire finally shouted his triumphant "pronto." The beans stood ready on the ground, the little bag of farinha /manioc flour/ lay beside them, a remnant of mutung beckoned benevolently from the rammed-in wooden spike -- let the crickets go on chirping in the forest.

114 At 6:30 (10 September 1887) we departed, eager for the things which, according to the indications of yesterday, were
133 to come today. After 20 minutes a river flowed into ours from the right side, a stream as quiet /51/ as it was and only a little narrower. Later it was named for us as the Ponekuru. The predominant direction of the combined waterways was north to northeast the same as the one that our earlier route had tried to

/53 cont./

123 [609] was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours, and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily 101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's •114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Paulaga, the first Bakaïrí whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey, lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise 131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the 103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulishu, or Kulihëu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty 122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian. Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15 we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

/55 cont./

On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakairi villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuqua," two villages of the "Minaki," a village of the "Aulu," a village of the "Tsalapiti," and on the "Kuluene" a village of the "Trumai." Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitsunale-Batovy, the "Kamayura" and the "Waura" were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluene," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Kobiene /Xingu-Cobiene/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluene-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluene" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluene. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluene" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluene first receives the Kulisehu and then, as "Kobiene," the Batovy along with the Tamitsunale-Batovy.

It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakairi; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough: the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /16/ at that time at Kobiene had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.

2. Steinen--15CD-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Becair1 SP7

/36 cont./

122 On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio
[439] and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange
for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the
Bakaïrí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have
a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take ad-
vantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these chil-
[34] dren of nature. I heard that in the second Bakaïrí village lying
downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps ob-
tain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those
remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men
who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to
ride with me to the second Bakaïrí village; there we could
complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back
to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to com-
mence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time,
Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large
cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with
the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at
Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and
the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could
not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakaïrí village.

123 After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they
had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned
to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst
that without hesitation I count these idyllic days among the
[21] happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice
in a little sketch; this will give me the opportunity to report
many little traits of the good people which could not be put in
a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without
value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are
accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared
when the larger group arrived later; the complete unconcern
which they showed toward me as a single individual did not
remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-
known picture customarily described in books. And here I
[159] should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

/56 cont./

114 Bakaïrí, against such views about their characteristics as are
157 found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

159 These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips, shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

361 342 372 422 The "village" was very small; it consisted of two large round houses, in each of which several families lived, and a small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "yaára," an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white manihoca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and 245 Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayuua palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a 449 327 824 sort of avenue of nately piki trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward

/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapü in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called poniű or poriű, the jejú of the Brazilians.

482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18: the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakaïri for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway: even my améma ikúto ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [262] spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [122] rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food 159 and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/77 cont./

115 157 The various menon detached duty were very different in their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapũ, for example, yawned after a few minutes, andhis face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Lichu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the youngerones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, tacitum and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouh to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received bads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up; I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave [123] me a bowl of the insipidpogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko; with his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he coud very well have been /78/ director ooo emeritus of a Gymnasiun. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gntlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on te Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the 123 gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

461 Paleko plaited danty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was 126 in the way of such light tsks requiring patience. He gave me not 191 only words and sentencesfrom his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, whichproved that he had associated a great deal • 184 with these neighbors. Heput less value on learning my language than the young people di. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls or the future. Since my knowledge of Bakaïrí was still very meger, I progressed but slowly.

Y /127 cont./
531 upper end of the handle, which was thrust through the small
534 gourd, and in the case of one of them the gourd was replaced
237 by the shell of a young turtle.

Y The Nahuquá let us take them across the river. The Auetö,
123 too, often made demands on us. They found it decidedly con-
A venient that we were always at their disposal with our canoes.
123 The Auetö, however, were also excellent swimmers. Children
A who reached to their father's knees paddled about freely and
526 happily in the Kulisehu. We denied the trip to one young man
who from the other side shouted in Auetö, "ferryman ahoy";
it was a pleasure to see how elegantly he crossed the river, his
left hand stretched up high and holding hammock and bow.

A The farewell was difficult for us, much as we longed to get
123 away from the dirty and unhealthy campsite. Vogel and Perrot
had returned from their trip on 29 October; on 30 October we
worked busily and packed up the collection. Perrot made
another trip to the Auetö village and bade a tender farewell;
A [553] the women brought him their children and a little girl was
given the name "Perro"; for all this love he of course had to
show his appreciation in beads, and a young mother whose two
children had received gifts from him called his attention, with
lively gestures, to the fact that he should also remember a third
that was in prospect.

000 VIII. Return to Independencia.

Vogel's trip to Schingú-Koblenz. Off from the Auetö harbor.
Visiting the villages. Accompanied by Indians. Rhenish carni-
val on the Kulisehu. Farewell scene in Maigéri. The moun-
tain trip: rowing. Suffering. Fever. Independencia: day of
rest. Solemn farewell from the Bakaïrí.

B
133 The excursion of Vogel and Perrot clarified the relationship
[103] between the Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Auayato, the Auetö chief,
[14] had accompanied them. They were absent from the harbor
from 11:45, 24 October, to 7:00 in the evening, 29 October,
and were able to make headway easily, since they carried no
luggage.

/209 cont./

*171 24 245 Category B could probably be considerably enlarged. It depended on the need. The fruit trees under this were planted with great care. I have mentioned that in the first Bakaïrí village there was a sort of avenue of pikí trees; the Nahuquá cultivated this species with great enthusiasm. The mangabas were popular and thrive especially well among the Bakaïrí, among the Kamayurá, and in particular, as was reported to me, among the Waurá, so that the Trumaí word "waurarú" seems to mean simply the Waurá fruit. The fruta de lobo was less frequently found near the village. Then, however, plants which they needed in any way for their implements and weapons were set out as required, if they did not occur in the vicinity of the village. Thus they transplanted near the village the spear grass growing in swampy soil, with which they shaved themselves, the bast plants that /210/ furnished them thread, occasionally perhaps also the sapé grass with which the houses were covered. Most interesting, however, it seems to me, is the assurance that they planted the ubá arrow reed in larger quantities on the Batovy, so as not to have to fetch it from distant places.

*171 249 [302] [824] [248]

Besides casual inclinations and knowledge of management, the nature of the soil apparently played an important role. Tobacco grew excellently among the Suyá and the Auetó and was commonly smoked by the men, except in the first Bakaïrí village on the Batovy.* It plays an important part in medical

[276]

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• 114 276 [113]

* This circumstance may have occasioned H. v. Ihering to say: "v. d. Steinen missed tobacco among the Bakaïrí of the Upper Schingú just as completely as bananas or metals" [Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie, 1893, p. 195]. I describe, cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 173 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 55/, for Village III of the Batovy-Bakaïrí, the real part played by smoking, as the discoverers of the

/210 cont./

●114 276 [177] Antilles found it. On the other hand, I share the opinion of v. Ihering, which I often expressed in lectures before I read his article, that the pipe in Brazil is of modern origin. Like the fishhook.

It[1] Plays an important part in medical

*171 276 757 773 treatment and is regarded as a very ancient acquisition of the culture heroes, who, as legend indicates, received it from the north. The drinking bowls and calabashes, especially the Cucurbita lagenaria, represented a major product for the

*171 249 [248] [302] Nahuquá, a somewhat lesser one for the Bakaïrí. The Mehinakú and the Bakaïrí had the best cotton. The orlean bush was valued above all by the Bakaïrí, the Mehinakú neglected it completely because watering it made too much work; the surprising circumstance upon my arrival in the village, namely, that no red-painted, but many black-painted figures were walking about, finds a very natural explanation.

*171 241 Maize, represented among the Suyá by a species characterized by smallness of ears and a golden color of the kernels, and mandioca were found everywhere, but the latter was planted in decidedly greater amounts among the Mehinakú. They were the richest farmers of the upper Schingú; their word for mandioca was also adopted by the Trumaí. Of tuber plants, besides mandioca, we saw yams of two kinds and batatas, which we first found in quantities among the Mehinakú. Our men designated beans as "feijaõ de vara," pole beans, or as "feijão de roça," plantation beans. Of edible gourds, abóbora /Abobra/, we saw only the seeds which the Suya brought us in 1884 for eating, so we understood. The mandubi peanut occurred in a small species. There were definitely no guavas or bananas on the Schingú.

*171 174 241 In my report about the first journey I pointed out the absence of bananas and especially stressed that for the question as to whether or not the banana was introduced in America only after the arrival of the Europeans this must be all the more decisive since the different Schingú tribes are of different origin and yet not a single one brought along the banana from the previous

n[1] [i.e., The Tobacco -- Analyst]

/210 cont./

*171 174 241 place of habitation. After the experiences of the second expedition I can only find my opinion confirmed. This time we also met true Tupí who did not have bananas. Among the Kamayurá I sought in vain for the /211/ word "pakóba," which the lingoa geral has for banana; they were unfamiliar with it. I gladly withdraw the suggestion that this word might be derived from the Portuguese; I no longer set any store by arbitrary etymology; today, more than at that time, however, I must lay much greater stress on the fact that among the individual tribes the names for banana do not conform to the linguistic derivation, but to fortuitous, local distribution. This is without precedent for the other useful plants. What is more, none of the first [824] discoverers mentions the banana, and the Aruak of the coast and the Island Karaiben reproduce the Spanish word "platano" so unmistakably in their "prättane" and "balatanna" that there is absolutely no doubt about the agreement; finally, if we fully appreciate the fact that in a lost corner we find representatives of all the large linguistic families with the most excellent names for all the cultivated plants, but without banana, that a splinter group of one of these tribes, and one associating with Europeans, the docile Bakaïrí, do have the banana and in their language, otherwise kept absolutely pure, simply call it "banana" (just like the Paressí, by the way), I believe that this proof is as forceful as negative proof can ever be. [114] Humboldt and Martius let themselves be persuaded by the fact that they found the banana everywhere among the Indians, but this basis for their view has now become untenable, and the experiences of linguistics, as well as the actual absence of the banana in the entire region of the upper Schingú, undoubtedly justify the opinion of the botanist, Alphonse de Candolle, that the banana was introduced into South America, though probably very soon after the appearance of Europeans.

*171 174 241 824 It is worthwhile, for a better evaluation of the linguistic methods of proof, to give an example. Let us consider the words for "pepper" among I, the Nu-Aruak, II, the Karaiben, and III, the Tupí.

/258 cont./

531 that one could not expect delicate lines in these fresco daubings.
825 When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem [114] further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakaïrí ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakaïrí, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurimatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The noróku ikúto, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulúri ikúto, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikúto. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of [824] a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemariáli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16; to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a sheatfish, schurúi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/278 cont./

285 532 Straw figures. Anyone who still feels confident about always being able to interpret the pictures and figures of the Indians I should have liked to have had beside me in the hut of the Bakaïrí which contains the large frieze, not so much because of the painted decorations, as because of a plaited design above the door. When the master of the house had explained the pictures to us, he led us to /279/ this door, as though he wanted to say: "Now here I have another little work of art." There was a plaiting made out of thin, black twigs lying crosswise and yellow straw stretched vertically. One saw two rows of squares between three rods, divided alternately in a diagonal direction from top left to bottom right and from top right to bottom left in such a way that each of them was made up of a black triangle of twigs and a yellow triangle of straw. The Bakaïrí explained these triangles as "swallow feathers," "tărĭga yuchúto." The

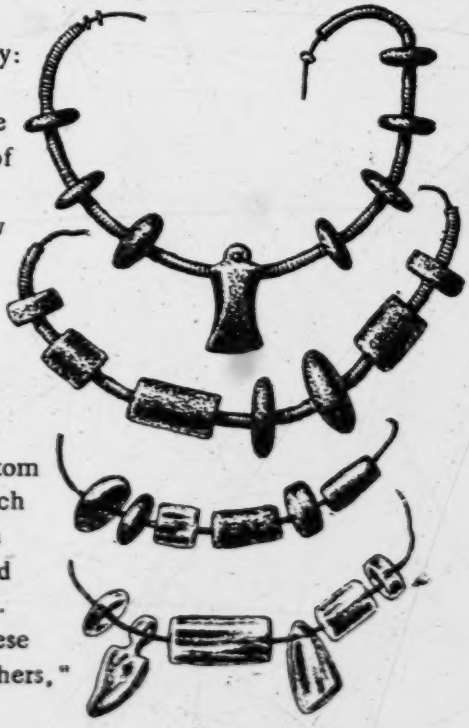

Fig. 64. Small chain-figures. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

tărĭga is a black and yellow swallow,* while the ĭri is black and white.

* Erroneously described as half black, half "white" in my book, Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bakaïrí Language/, p. 39.

Apparently the yellow triangles of the design represented the wings. It is by no means a matter of a casual design, for neither its special

/295 cont./

000 Auetö as the inventors of the woven mask and the mereschu ornamentation. III. Other festival apparatus. Kamayurá dances. Dance clubs. Ornamental whorl, etc. Musical instruments. Whizzer sticks. Feather ornaments. Diadems. Games of the young people.

"The artifacts of the Stone Age are simple and fashioned only for the satisfaction of the most essential needs. With the art of shaping metals, the feeling for ornamentation and adornment is awakened." Thus writes O. Schrader in his excellent book, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte /Language Comparison and Prehistory/ (p. 215), and something like that could have been written only by a distinguished philologist to whom it does not occur that such judgments, even when they refer to Indo-European prehistoric peoples, must be tested in the modern museum of ethnology. That passage has about the same value as one to the effect that man began to establish traditions when he learned to write. Though it is true that the satisfaction of the most essential needs is older than the development of the feeling for ornamentation and adornment, nevertheless even primitive peoples, without metal developed this to the full extent of their means; in fact, one may very well argue that, quite the contrary, it might often have awakened -- and could awaken because it was already highly developed -- the interest
*171 in metals in the first place. In the chapter on ornamental drawing 114 and plastic art, I believe I have proved in detail what I 18 stated about our Indians in a preliminary report presented to the [13] Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin /Geographical Society of Berlin/ (Verhandlungen, 1888, p. 386): "They have a positive mania for painting all implements, a passion for crafts," and I must now complete the evidence for the festival days when man quite consciously feels elevated above the satisfaction of the most essential needs and puts all his skill into the service of the art of adorning himself.

/298 cont./

171 345 535 562 Furthermore, however, it is easily understandable that the women are strictly excluded from the ceremonious dances and may not enter the flute house, the house of the men where foreign visitors are welcomed and entertained. It is probably in this sense that one should interpret the strange masquerade which we experienced in the second Bakaïrí village, when the food and drink for our flute-house band was fetched by a masked Indian of the first village from the women, who would not have been permitted to bring it. Cf. page 63. Behind the jest lay the

●[114]

* At that place there is a sentence which was left in by mistake and which contains an idea long since given up by me -- the final sentence that there is perhaps a connection with the custom of eating alone. /The sentence referred to, which was omitted in the translation in accordance with the corrections listed on p. 571, reads as follows. Perhaps there is a connection between the custom of being veiled when one brings his gift of hospitality and the custom of eating alone, against which one cannot transgress without arousing the sense of shame of the others./

serious motive that strangers and women should be limited in their intercourse. The Mohammedan takes the opposite course, in that he masks his women and shuts them up in special chambers.

*171 535 562 In the origin of the dance itself, moreover, there is a fundamental reason against the participation of the female sex. These are "unfeminine" pleasures which have developed from hunters festivals. Nevertheless, there seem to be distinctions. The women never take part in the big festivals, the Bakaïrí said, but in the small ones they do. they are also said to dance by themselves occasionally, without men. The Suyá, however, seem to think otherwise. at any rate, the Bakaïrí expressed themselves very contemptuously about the misbehavior there, "men danced with women." Perhaps it is advisable to point out,

/372 cont./

128 Here I shall try to relate their content, which, to be understood,
539 requires the essential supplements furnished by Antonio. They themselves consist of very short sentences and have an extremely terse form of expression.

539 The parents of Keri and Kame. The first part of the legend takes place in heaven. Almost everything that is now on earth existed at that time. Nothing is reported about an actual creation; it is only told how the heroes Keri and Kame acquire all kinds of good and important things from others. There were always Bakaïrí present, though "at the beginning /373/ only a few." There were also people of other tribal affiliations, especially the various jaguars and their relatives, who killed and devoured many Bakaïrí. For example, Kamuschini, with whom the story begins, was also "of another people."

Kamuschini, when he was looking for leaves of the tucum palm in the forest in order to provide himself with cord for bowstrings, met the jaguar Oka, was afraid of him, and promised to make women for him if he would spare him. First he felled trees with red wood (sewéti), took the blocks home, set them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and withdrew for a while. When he returned, however, they had all turned into men who were carving arrows! He killed them, went out again and with a stone axe felled five or six other trees, proceeded with them as with the first, and, after he had left the ones blown upon to themselves for a while, found that this time they had become women. They all said "Papa" to him and, with the exception of the last ones who sat there lazily and whom he therefore angrily killed at once,* they were busily pounding maize -- "it is said that there

* For five of them I was given the names Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawagüri. In Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 226, I erroneously said that Kamuschini felled five pikí trees, and besides that I was guilty of accusing Kamuschini of an error. He first felled two pikí trees, from which came

/217/

The Bacaeris

000 /218/ Study published in the Revista Brasileira, Year 1, Vols. III and IV, 1895.

101 /219/ The Bacaeris

The Bacaeris /Bacairi/ are Indians who inhabit the headwaters of the Tapajoz /Tapajós/ and the Xingú in Mato Grosso. Their name, which first appears in the logbooks of the bandeirantes /members of armed bands/ of the early eighteenth century, is later found repeatedly in travel accounts, scholarly works, and newspaper items. Since 1884/85 they have attracted the interest of the scientific world, which they fully deserve on account of the language that they speak, the ethnographic group to which they belong, the characteristic customs that they retain, and the dual aspect that they present, already subdued along the Tapajoz, still completely savage along the Xingú.

● 114 It was Dr. Carlos von den Steinen--assisted by our government, which put at their disposal a military school between Cuyabá /Cuiabá/ and the lower Xingú and defended the expedition between those two points--who, by studying them, opened what may be called without exaggeration a new era for our native ethnography. The results of this expedition may be summarized in a few lines (1).

[113] 1. Durch Zentral Brasilien /Through Central Brazil; see 1:Steinen, this file/, Leipzig, 1886.

114 101 First of all, he delimited the rather vague concept of "Cariba" /Carib/, a designation which, as the German traveler states so well, was given by the Europeans to all kinds of Indians

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
[197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply.

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

/220 cont./

197 however, to the language of the Bacaeris, which seems pure, nor, for example, to the Cumanagotas /Cumanagoto/ and Chaymas /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars and texts since 1683.

114 /221/ The second result was the finding of Cariba tribes
101 south of the Amazon, when those that were known had been found only north of the great river, such as the Crixanás /Crichana/, Macuxis /Macusi/, and others. Directly afterward, it was proved that these were not the only ones: between the S. Francisco and Parnahiba /Parnaíba/ rivers, Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribas; the Palmelas /Palmella/, too, with whom Dr. Severiano da Fonseca dealt on the Guaporé, were Caribas; more Caribas were found later by Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the Xingú, the Culisewi, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the lower Tocantins, where they are called Apiacás.

114 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Cariba languages
194 and the existence of tribes that spoke them south of the
197 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the migrations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite, as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously this was answered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen and by St. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published various glossaries by Crevaux, among which were some Cariba ones.

114 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by our government, explored the Pakunera and Culisewi rivers down to their mouths in the Culuéne, the easternmost of the headwaters of the Xingú.

/222/ Two books resulted from this journey: a monograph on the language of the Bacaeris (3), published in 1892; and the

114 [113] /222 cont./

3. Die Bakairi Sprache /The Bacairi Language/. Leipzig, 1892.

account published in 1894, the richly illustrated, brilliantly written, forcefully conceived volume in which are discussed the main subjects of the primitive history of mankind, to sum up in a word, the richest modern contribution on all that touches upon our aborigines (4).

[113] 4. Unter den Naturvoelkern Zentral-Braziliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil; see 2:Steinen, this file/. Berlin, 1894.

114 115 At the same time that Dr. Steinen's book on the language appeared, a Bacaeri was here, brought from the Paranatinga by Dr. Oscar de Miranda when he completed his difficult journey down that river to the Amazon. With this Indian, the author of these lines was able to study the German scholar's book word by word, and I cannot find words enough to express the admiration that was aroused in me by the exactitude of the phonetic transcription, the sharpness with which the grammatical forms had been discerned, and the thoroughness with which everything usable in the materials collected had been picked out. If the comparison be permitted in a country that boasts of being primarily agricultural, it might be said that his sugar mill, like one of the gigantic rollers in use today, squeezed out all the cane juice, leaving only the bagasse.

From that Indian, called Irineu, who will be designated with the initial "I," many texts were gathered--legends, descriptions, traditions. The present /223/ work aims at a partial presentation of this harvest. Based on the book by Dr. Steinen, whose system of phonetic transcription is adopted

121 114

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

/224/

I

The Language of the Bacaeris

197

[133] [103] The language of the Bacaeris (kxuza itano, tohi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like abá ñeẽ, the language of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yemeriri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra), a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuro, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Cariba group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is found in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incantations: aũfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it generally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabial. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçalves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without interruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittently, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resulting from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

/235 cont./

193 [114] That the substantives have a plural has been contested; just recently, Sr. Lucien Adam maintained "that the Bakairi is the only one of the adequately known (Carib) dialects in which distinctions of number are not expressed by any suffix" /translated from the French/ (5); nevertheless they do exist

[113]

5. Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe /Materials to serve for setting up a comparative grammar of the dialects of the Carib family/, Paris, 1893, a book of extraordinary value for the study of difficult problems.

and there are no fewer than three endings which indicate plural. The first is modo: a'aetiño, "ancient," a'aetiño-modo, "ancients." The second one is mo: pekodo, "woman," pekodómo, "women." The third one is do: idamu, "his grandfather," idamudo, "his grandfathers." Let it be noted, however, that the Bacaeris, although they have a fine verb with which to count (imperative, çapo'eža), do not count beyond three, and thus numbers are of little importance to them. Let it be noted further that the word idanára means both "all" and "entire"; in /236/ other words, in their minds the concepts of plurality and totality have not been differentiated, resulting in many words, principally ending in do, in which the concept of plural does not exist, for example, yunu, "his blood," yunudo, "his people"--that is, "his bloods."

There is little to be said concerning gender.

There are words which may be called masculine, such as u'urodo, "man," or feminine, such as arekxuma, "hen." The sole vestige of grammatical gender, however, is found in the demonstratives: mâka, miẑka, mera, êra, inara are used

193 /243/

The verbs in raki and taki are governed by these two paradigms as far as the affixes postposed to the radical and indicative of tense are concerned; the paradigm for eyatu, "to will," is used for the verbs which may be called untransitive, either because they are reflexive and the action is communicated only to the subject performing it--identity of subject and object--or because, aside from the complement of thing they demand one of person, and while the former is expressed by incorporation in the radical, the latter, the only one which could change, is expressed by the Bacaeris separately from the radical of the verb.

The case of the multi-transitive verbs is complex, and demands the study of what the Jesuit grammarians--in spite of the defective method which led them to apply the standards of Latin to the idioms of the New World--minds of unusual linguistic discernment and insight, called transitions /transições/ in connection with the abê-ßeP.

Taking the radical çatõ (Bak. Sprache, 163), we find that çatõ-he is one of the indicative presents and means "I cut, you cut, he cuts, we cut, you cut, they cut." This is sufficient to show how right Steinen is when he considers it a grammatical myth to say that in the Cariba languages ç represents the first person pronoun. (U. Sp., 281/291).

If, however, we wish to say, "you cut me," we shall have i-atõhe, which also means "he cuts me." If we wish to say, "I cut you," we shall have a-tõ-he, which also means "he cuts you" or "he cut you." If we say ka-awok, it may mean either "you cut us" or "he cuts us," which leads one to conclude that the /244/ ç in çatõ-he corresponds to the object in the third person, and that çatõhe means "I, you, he, we, you, or they cut it." This is indeed the case, which certainly does not favor Steinen, when, in his admirable endeavor to reconstruct the primitive Cariba (Karaïbische Grundsprache) spoken by the various tribes before their separation, he classifies the ç, with its many phonetic variations, as a verb radical.

(114)

First copy. /

193 To go on to the other persons, we find in e'kwu the following forms: kwa-i-edi-k, ma-i-edi-k, i-i-edi-k, kg-i-edi-k. We have already learned with respect to e'kwu that kg, m, i, e: mean respectively "I," "you," "he," "we"; since kwaedik, however, does not simply mean "I cut," but "I cut it," would it be rash to conclude that in these forms i represents the object in the third person? No, indeed, for if we wish to say "you or he cut me," we have iedik, in which there is no i; "I, he, or we cut you," edii; "you or he cut us," kwaedik, in which there is no i either.

In summarizing these facts, we arrive at the following results:

1. In multi-transitive verbs, the pronoun ki or ci may undergo only four modifications, since there are that number of possible personal objects which can be added to the verb radical, preceding it;

2. In the present ni-k, ki-i, wi-i, or simply ii, when the object is in the third person, there are four possible modifications, because the character of the language demands in such a case that, aside from the patient pronoun, i/ei/ which does not vary, the agent pronoun, which are four in number, be added to the radical, preceding it;

3. In the first and second persons singular and the first person plural, since it is a matter of the person who is speaking or spoken to, person present, only the objective pronoun is used, and since there are only three, two for the singular

Thus the transitions, which we referred to above as possibly adding up to 11, do not add up to more than seven in one case and four in the other; 11 in all, but in different categories.

Thus, after a long detour, we return once more to the pronoun:

(114) With much justification, the Jesuits claim that in the ahi-dut the pronouns belong to two different classes.

Pali case. /

"The personal pronouns," says the greatly revered Dionysius Thrax, "are divided into two well characterized orders, namely: the first, of the agent or denominative pronoun, and the second, of the patient or accusative pronoun and of the governed cases. Both of them are prefixed to the verb, in accordance with the most general rule... And when both occur together, the patient one is the one immediately next to the verb" (7).

7. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, Vol. 8, Rio, 1879.

The same is to be observed in the Greek case. And the patient or objective pronouns are identical to the possessives, which is another proof of how little differentiation there is as yet between verb and substantive, transitive and intransitive verb, in the idiom.

/[39 cont.]/

(Grodyque) is killed, pay for them with mingka;--if no payment is made, Yamîka will seize our shadow; Iniga (Cotia?) /[40]/ is the domestic animal that is the creation (of) of Yamîka: if you cut down forest in which Yamîka dwells, pay for it;--work out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for the forest (?);--then, when Yamîka had drunk mingka, he

[114] [115]

13. After he had dictated this passage, I expressed doubt as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

gave (us) away (14).

[191] [114]

14. Matias Ruiz Blanco notes a version of the same idea among the Indians of Perijá (Colombia): "When the Indian hunts in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tumuna of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversion de Perijá, 84, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion.

/283 cont./

75
77 After much wandering, the sky becomes cooler. We are close to the village, says Nakoeri's companion. Then they reach the village of the hornets, and the candidate hears nothing but hornet language: Did you come, my brother? Did you come, my father? Did you come, my uncle? Did you come, my son? the candidate hears, but he sees nothing, because one cannot see through the darkness of the sky.

The bench moves on again, and then, as though awakening, they reach Nakoeri's house and go into it. You wandered much, says Nakoeri,--Yes, I did, Captain, answers the candidate.

After a short while, the candidate says to Nakoeri: Captain, I am going away. Yes, replies Nakoeri. You may go now; you will return again one day.

114
115
77 Let us now interrupt this passage in order to comment upon it.

Dr. Carlos von den Steinen heard from Antonio something which probably referred to Nakoeri; he thought, however, that the story,--naturally poorly developed, since Antonio spoke in Portuguese, which he did not know well, and an Indian only narrates with pleasure and clarity in his native tongue--showed the influence of Christianity. Thus, when Antonio, unable to recall at once the name of the personage who dwelt in the sky, was searching for it in his own mind, the German traveler asked him if it might not be Jesus /Yêsu/ Chrisso,--Cristo mesmo /Christ himself/, said Antonio, possibly accepting the suggestion (16).

[113]

16. Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, 348 Ave 2:Steinen, this file, p. 409/.

/270 cont./

of a higher order because they come back to life after they have died and return to live among men.

Aside from these lower principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kitsimo oroiko, which he translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kilibo, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hit dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

Of the same typeare: Kitarowi, who goes about at night, carrying a tool for axes, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacairi, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Tuenaguenro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he hits against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the sardinfish, the grandfather of drums, etc., dwell. Chemo appears in the middle of the water. No acus, caymans, or quelmas goes there, no flying thing flies across [illegible] scarcely a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the [illegible] (a sort of enchanted otter) are there, and only the deadmen's [illegible]

The jaguar aú, the horse auú, the quelmada auú, the turtle auú, the ob auú of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swiping at the edge of the water. The Kaurino and the Kuruberaire their heads which sound like thunder, and those who he this sound fall ill and die, and those who are the grandsons of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there a swamp, and the lake is the women of [illegible]

4:Schmidt--1 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves. There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Parexi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/. Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacciyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

/11 cont./

114 101 133 respect to this piece of information we must keep in mind the fact that in those times the Rio Paranatinga was regarded as a tributary of the Xingu River.

From an objective standpoint I have nothing to add to [121] Karl von den Steinen's full account. I merely propose to complement it in time and to add what we know of the more recent history of the Bakairí since that period when Karl von den Steinen wrote his history of the Bakairí. I feel impelled to carry out this mission, especially in view of the fact that of my two expeditions, in which I had the most extensive contact with the Bakairí, the first took place 26 years before the second, so that I had a good opportunity to observe personally a great part of the change in the living conditions of the Bakairí in the times after Karl von den Steinen's publication. The Bakairí [115] André, who was my faithful companion /12/ on the trip from the Simões Lopes Post to the Pedro Dantas Post, established to civilize the Kayabí /Cayabí/, and on the return to Cuiabá, was the son of a Bakairí, born on the Rio Kuliseho and called Chico, who had been one of my traveling companions to the Rio Kuliseho in the year 1901. I also encountered in the year 1927 many old acquaintances among whom I had lived 26 years before in their village, Maimaieti, on the Rio Kuliseho. They all still remembered well the time we had spent together in the past. During my later stay in Cuiabá, up to the year 1931, the Bakairí boys who went to school in Cuiabá visited my house often, so that it enabled me to keep informed up to that date about all that went on among the Bakairí.

114 648 195 Karl von den Steinen's two expeditions to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River should be noted as an important event not only in the general history of discoveries but also, especially, in the history of the Bakairí. Through them was re-established the long broken connection between the Bakairí living on the Rio Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on [197] the Batovy and Kuliseho river. This fact had such an incisive

/12 cont./
influence on the later development of these Indians, with their very marked feeling of nationality, that they changed their primordial customs completely during the 50 years following Karl von den Steinen's second expedition carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River. Thanks to a series of data on events among the Bakairí in this interval, we find ourselves in the fortunate position of being able to investigate that transformation. We are oriented in detail on the personality and life history of several Bakairí who have influenced in a special way the later development of their tribe, like Cacique Reginaldo and, especially, Cacique Antonio and his stepson José Coroado, so that we can give our historical report on the Bakairí a more personal character than would be possible with respect to other Indian tribes.

If we differentiate, according to Karl von den Steinen, the Bakairí who live west of the Rio Paranatinga (in later times officially Rio Telles Pires) as western Bakairí and the eastern Bakairí, who have their homes in the regions east of this river, on the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, it can be said that in the period of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River, no contacts took place between these two Bakairí groups, and certainly none had taken place for a long time. Old Cacique Reginaldo told Karl von den Steinen that he still remembered, from the days of his youth, that traveling from the Rio Paranatinga eastward, [illegible] also lived, but that at the present date they did not know anything about this region. (4) Certainly no contacts had taken

4. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/. Leipzig, 1886. p. 192.

place between the western Bakairí and those of the east from the time when the former established closer contact with the

/12 cont./

174 177 619 114 175 619 642 113

Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kulisehu rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any European influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien (5), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the

5. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische. Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905. p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabí/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí [illegible] on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

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In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

/13 cont./

161 Going on from the Rio Preto Bakairí, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bakairí population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranatinga was also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, [114] on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, [175] did not have the opportunity to visit the Bakairí of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 55, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, [131] and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /14/ absent, [563] and some of these were not expected to return.(9) This number

9. Karl v.d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 120. Iden., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paressí women and the two Kayabí women who were married to Bakairí men. When Karl von den Steinen visited this Bakairí village again, in the year 1887, [illegible] in the interval, some had moved to the ranches, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the four Paressí and Kayabí women, the total number for all the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga reaches 81 individuals.

195 The above-mentioned aldeas of the western Bakairí were 622 at this time under the Indian Superintendent in Cuiabá, and the 648 administration of the state of Mato Grosso has exerted repeated influence on the various Bakairí units, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

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648 I must also mention here an expedition of five North Americans who, half a year before Herrmann Meyer's second expedition, went down the Rio Kulisehu to look for rubber. No doubt, like the other expeditions to these regions, they took along Bakairí Indians. The details of the tragic outcome of this expedition, whose five participants were all massacred by the Suyá with clubs, were told me several times by the Bakairí and the Auetö in the same way, and I have noted down the particulars of this event with care in my book, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. (26)

26. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 42.

In the year 1900, Paulo Castro had once more entered the region east of the Rio Paranatinga, this time as head of an expedition outfitted in grand style by the Mato Grosso government, as they said, to prepare, at the top of the water divide between the Xingu and Araguaya rivers, a route that would lead to the Amazon River, in order to facilitate the transportation of livestock from Mato Grosso to Pará. Shortly before the return of my expedition to the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in June, 1901, the survivors of Paulo Castro's expedition, which had been a total failure, returned to Cuiabá. The great hardships of this last expedition of Paulo Castro caused this explorer, untiring in his search for the "martyrs," never to be well until his death.

• 114 In the year 1901 I led my own expedition to the region of the source of the Xingu River, when I had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the life of the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga, and also, especially, of those of the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu.

114
36 /20/ Shortly before crossing the Rio Novo I passed one of the two aldea of the Rio Novo Bakairí, but I had only a passing

/20 cont./

look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo. The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the ancestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides [illegible]

and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/20 cont./

Reginaldo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Reginaldo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldea and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi river in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldea at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of this community, the population of the aldea had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at this time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /21/ of his rank as comandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against unfriendly fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldea were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. This small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unquestionably begun at this time to

159 /22 cont./
619 inhabitants planned to poison him. So he remained in the port near our canoes. But the difficulties this caused me were compensated for by the fact that during his visit to the second aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí, he had married a local Indian girl and taken her to the Rio Paranatinga.

159 José was already trying then in every possible way to be-
593 come independent from his stepfather. I found this out primarily
114 from a conversation between José and his mother which I overheard during my stay in Antonio's house. Already then he had several Xinguanos working in his service, and although they were not as numerous as the Xinguanos in the service of Cacique Antonio, this competition could be seen as a factor that was beginning to curtail Antonio's power, which had reached its zenith at the time, and that threatened sooner or later to lead to a violent outcome. This discord between Antonio and his son-in-law /sic/ was important to the outcome of the expedition I had undertaken to the Rio Kulisehu insofar as José Coroado was ready to accompany me with his brother-in-law Chico, who was from the second Bakairí aldea on the Rio Kulisehu, while Antonio made his help to my undertaking contingent on inordinately high demands which far exceeded my then rather scant resources for travel. Finally I was able to persuade Antonio to let me have two of his people to accompany me to the embarkation point on the Rio Kulisehu and then to return with my pack oxen to the Rio Paranatinga.

619 As a result of the active and close contact which had pre-
182 vailed since the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen of the upper Xingu River region, the /?3?/ way of life of the former had regained a more native character. I have already
353 mentioned that José Coroado's large house showed friezes with
619 paintings of a purely Bakairí nature. Antonio was again partici-
182 pating, painted above the waist, in native dances and because
756 of the frequency of illnesses at the time among the Paranatinga Bakairí, he wanted to induce a doctor from the second Bakairí

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756 /23 cont./
aldea on the Rio Kulisehu to settle with his arts on the Paranatinga.

177 When I was with the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí in May and June
178 of 1901, 14 years had elapsed since their first contact with
[114] articles of European culture. After Karl von den Steinen's
expedition, other explorers had also passed through their land.
They had become familiar with iron axes, knives, scissors,
matches, and other objects of modern culture, and by bartering
their native products they had become amply provided with
such objects, but their natures and their way of life had barely
[411] changed. They had become acquainted with the firearms of
the Europeans and of their fellow countrymen of the Rio
Paranatinga, but they still regarded them with a certain mis-
[226] giving and did not use them either. Fishing, which had been
of the greatest importance in the economy of these Indians,
was still carried out on a broad scale and in the ancestral way,
[224] fishhooks not being used. In hunting, too, they only used their
241 arrows and long bows built like the ones of old. Agriculture
412 was also carried out in the same manner and with the same
digging sticks, with the mere exception that the work of clearing
was made much easier by the numerous iron axes that replaced
the stone axes of times past. I did not see any more stone axes
among these Indians. Undoubtedly they had all been replaced
by the far more useful iron axes brought by the explorers who
241 passed through these regions. There were large plantations in
114 the vicinity of the aldeas or at a distance from them, and I
myself had the opportunity to observe in the aldea of Maimaieti,
situated on the Rio Kulisehu, the way in which a big part of the
mountain was cleared for a future plantation. The Indians
proudly showed me a spot planted to sweet manioc, bitter ma-
manioc, of which they had received cuttings from the Rio
Paranatinga Bakairí. During my stay among the Bakairí of
Maimaieti aldea there was never a scarcity of manioc, and I
and my companions were always generously provided with
[648] manioc cakes /beiju/. I mention this fact especially, because

4cSchmidt--24 E-S (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Bacairi SPT

/23 cont./

241 it contrasts with Hermann Meyer's observation, made two
•114 years before in the year 1899, on his own experiences among
648 the same Bakairí. (29) To account for the fact that it was

29. Hermann Meyer, "Bericht über seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 126 and 127.

absolutely impossible for him to obtain provisions from the Rio Kuluehu Bakairí, he said that these Indians depended for their subsistence almost entirely on their fellow countrymen of the Rio Paranatinga and that their agriculture had almost completely disappeared. When Meyer passed by the aldeas of the Rio Kuluehu Bakairí, conditions for his expedition, which comprised a large number of participants, were very precarious, especially because of lack of provisions, and no doubt the fact that he was unable to get from the Bakairí the provisions he had asked for was for him a severe disappointment. It is possible that the Bakairí at this time could not /24/ supply such large quantities of provisions to accommodate such a large number of strangers. Since it is certain that the Bakairí at the time of my stay among them possessed large plantations, it does not seem possible that their agriculture, two years earlier, should have been at the vanishing point. Nor can I corroborate
114 Hermann Meyer's comment that the Bakairí of the first two
342 aldeas on the Rio Kuluehu, at the time of his expedition, had changed their good houses for "miserable huts." The two aldeas of the Kuluehu Bakairí which I visited each consisted of four large houses of six fols, built in the same form with an oval base as the houses had in former times. All of the houses in

231 [illegible] were quite new and made a good impression inside and outside. About one league from Maimaiem were the then abandoned houses of the old aldea which the Bakairí of Maimaiem had still occupied a short time earlier and where a large bird of prey, a kind of harpy eagle /harpía/, was kept on

/24 cont./

a table made of vertigan and provided regularly with meat, if possible monkey meat.

Among the various crafts of the Kulumbu Bakairí, pottery-making, plaiting, and spinning were still maintained in the ancestral farm. Food preparation was also still the same as described by Karl von den Steinen for times past. The only essential difference appeared in regard to woodworking, for which at this time metal tools were used, so that this craft no longer depended on stone axes, drill with cane points, shells, and the teeth of fish or other animals. Another acquisition from the various expeditions which had passed through their territory were ear pendants of multicolored glass beads with which many women and children, especially, were well provided. European clothing was seen only in exceptional cases. Thus the first man who came out of his house in Maigeri aldea to greet me had on trousers which he had been given at the time of a visit to the Rio Paranatinga aldea and which surely had never been washed since. As a rule the uluri (small triangle of bark) was the sole universal garment of the women and young girls, and a fine thread belt and body paint the men's apparel.

When Karl von den Steinen visited the Rio Kulumbu Indians, the first Bakairí aldea, called Maigeri, consisted of only two large houses of simbols and one small house for guests with an oval base, while the second and third aldeas each consisted of three large houses of simbols and of one house for guests. Thus the number of houses in Bakairí aldeas at the time of my stay among these Indians had increased, and for this reason I do not hold to Curt Nimuendaju Meyer's observation that this tribe was already "greatly declining" at the time. (30) No doubt there

30. Nimuendaju Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí aldeas on the Rio Kulumbu, the first, Maigeri, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

/24 cont./

second, Maimaieti, also called Muriko, but for a short /25/
time there was also an aldea called Bokóro in the region that
extends between the Kuliseu and Batovy rivers. From the fact
that the wife of the Bakairí, Mayuká, who was the head of one
of the Maimaieti houses, lived in that aldea, it follows that there
were intimate relations between the inhabitants of these two
aldeas.

Unfortunately I was unable to obtain, during my journey
to the Rio Kuliseu, exact data on the population of the first
aldea of Maigeri and of Bokóro aldea situated between the
Kuliseu and Batovy rivers, just as it is not possible to determine
exactly the population movement of the Bakairí of the Rio
Kuliseu in the period of time which elapsed between Karl von
den Steinen's expedition and my stay among these Indians in
the year 1901. But I can still recall clearly that the population
of Maigeri aldea had more than the 21 individuals it had at the
time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition. Also, from the fact
that the aldea consisted at the time of my trip of four houses of
similar size instead of the two houses that Karl von den Steinen
found, it can be concluded that the population had increased
considerably in the interval. As for the inhabitants of the
second Rio Kuliseu aldea, Karl von den Steinen estimated them
at some 60 individuals, which corresponds more or less to the
population of Maimaieti aldea in later times, which I estimated
at 65 individuals. The population of the third Bakairí aldea,
which had formerly existed on the Kuliseu, numbered, according
to Karl von den Steinen, some 100 individuals, a figure
that seems very high compared with the number (three) of houses
in this aldea and with the population of the other aldeas. If
we add up the figures estimated and named by Karl von den
Steinen for the population of the Bakairí villages which existed
at the time of his expedition on the Rio Kuliseu, we get a
total of some 160 Bakairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu. When
I was in Maimaieti there were 65 individuals present in this
aldea, but they said that a number of the inhabitants were

/25 cont./

114 161 361 temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account a population in Maimaieti of more than 45 persons. I have already mentioned above that the population of Maigeri aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kuliseihu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by Rio Kuliseihu Bakairí and a part of the Xinguanos, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

115 681 It is certain that the epilogues of the expeditions made to the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kuliseihu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayana of the first aldea on the Kuliseihu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of this same aldea had lain in wait for José Coroado because he had become too involved /26/ with the women. 648 1078 Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the relations of the Rio Kuliseihu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down this river, especially the Nahukuá and the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kuliseihu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

114 361 We received the first information on the Bakairí, after my journey, in the year 1915 through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

/26 cont./
114 361 the Rio S. Manuel and the Rio Paranatinga (officially named Rio Telles Pires), encountered the Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga and those who had settled at the "Cabeceira do Chapadão." (31)

31. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 70.

361 622 [249] 361 In the aldea situated on the Rio Novo there still lived at this time the old cacique, Reginaldo, who then wore a long, white beard. He had good plantations, he carried on some raising of cattle and horses, and he had a stand of rubber trees from which he had rubber sought. (32) A small group of

32. Ibid.

Bakairí from the Arinos region lived at this time on the Cabeceira do Pardo, a tributary of the Rio Arinos. They were the Bakairí, [423] André, and four fellow tribesmen who owned plantations and [464] worked as rubber workers. (33)

33. Ibid., pp. 70 and 71.

159 622 593 361 Meanwhile changes had taken place among the Rio Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio was still cacique of the aldea, which was still at the same place, slightly downriver from the mouth of the São Manuel River on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires), where it had been set up after the death of Cacique Felipe. Since the aldea consisted at this time of seven houses, it may be assumed that Antonio still commanded a relatively large number of Bakairí. But he was no longer the 159 593 361 sole ruler of all the Paranatinga Bakairí. The differences which had already existed for a long time between Antonio and his stepson, José Coroado, had become intensified, and after a serious quarrel between them, José Coroado had left Antonio's

/26 cont./
159 aldea and established with his people his own village, situated
593 13 kilometers downriver on the right side of the Rio Paranatinga
361 (Rio Telles Pires) and four kilometers from the main river on the small Ribeirão Azul. This was the same place where at the time of my trip in the year 1927 the Puesto de Simões Lopes /Simões Lopes Post/ was.

159 Through Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa we know that Dona Rosa
593 Bororo, José Coroado's mother and for many years Cacique Antonio's wife, had died in January, 1913 in her son's village.
/27/ From this piece of information it may be deduced, on the
[174] one hand, that José Coroado's move to the Ribeirão Azul had already taken place before the year 1913, and on the other hand, that Rosa Bororo, in the quarrel between her husband and her son, followed the latter and left Antonio. The latter had already married in 1915 a young woman who, according to Antonio Pyrineus, was a daughter of old Cacique Reginaldo by
[114] a Kayabí woman. Possibly Antonio Pyrineus made a mistake with respect to this piece of information, for we know through Karl von den Steinen that the cacique who had married young Luisa Kayabí was old Caetano, who was then cacique of the aldea situated on the Rio Paranatinga, while I never heard it said that the wife of Cacique Reginaldo, whom I knew in person, was a Kayabí. If the information that the second wife of Cacique Antonio was a Kayabí is correct, I would presume that she was the daughter of Luisa Kayabí, who was still living at the time of my trip in the year 1927, at the Simões Lopes Post and thus the legitimate daughter, although presumably not the natural daughter, of old Cacique Caetano.

162 A considerable increase in the population of the Rio
361 Paranatinga had been caused by the fact that Cacique Kurutú
166 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River had moved with 180 Xinguanos to the Rio Paranatinga. Cacique Kurutú's new aldea was situated eight kilometers downriver from Cacique Antonio's aldea, on the left side of the Rio Paranatinga and some 200 meters from the river. But of these 180 Xinguanos, already in

Schmidt--31 F-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1967 SFT Berlin SFT

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in form, placed in front under the belt, which consists of glass beads strung on a thread. Face and body were painted with urucú and genipap in red and black. At this time, too, cases of illness were imputed to the influence of some sorcerer, and shortly before the expedition of Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa a Paranatinga Bakairí had been shot to death because the Indians ascribed the consequences of a flu epidemic to his witchcraft.

• 114 • In his book Unter Indianern und Rossenschlangen (36)

[113]

36. Hintermann, Heinrich.
Unter Indianern und Rossenschlangen
/Among Indians and Boa Constrictors/.
Zurich and Leipzig. 1926.

Heinrich Hintermann relates the incidents and outcome of a journey to the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries. He had the opportunity to accompany a military expedition led by the Brazilian, Captain Vicente de Vasconcellos, which was carried out in the year 1924 for the Commissão de Linhas Telegráf. de Matto-Grosso ao Amazonas to measure the Rio Ronuro and establish relations between the administration of the new Simões Lopes Post, established by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/, and the Indians of the Kuluehu and Kuluene rivers. We know from Hintermann that already at that time, all the Kuluehu Bakairí had moved to the Simões Lopes Post, which was established at the same place where José Cuiabá had already set up his aldea before.

[166]

During my journey carried out in the year 1927 I had the opportunity to become personally acquainted once more, after an interval of 26 years, with the conditions of the Bakairí. (37)

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37. Cf. the preliminary reports on the results of this trip: Max Schmidt, "Ergebnisse meiner zweijährigen Forschungsreise in Matto Grosso.

Schubnell - 32 E-5 (1911, 1927-1931) 1947 SP? Nelson SP?

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114 (113) Sept. 1928 to Aug. 1929
/Results of My Two Year Exploratory
Trip to Mato Grosso, Sept. 1928
to Aug. 1929/." pp. 86-88.
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
Annual Vol 61, Heft 1/2.

114 115 In Cuiabá I had simply encountered some Bakairí who had come from Sundes Lagoa with a load of coco to the capital. Since at that time the revolutionaries, led by /Luiz Carlos/ Prestes, were passing through Mato Grosso and also were causing the vicinity of Cuiabá insecure, these Bakairí were prevented from undertaking their return journey for the same reason I was unable to carry out my project and trip to Sundes Lagoa. They were four men and one boy of me and when they visited me one day in my house. It turned out that one of these Indians, called Marcellino Camargo, or by his native name, "Ungudo" came from the second Bakairí village on the Rio Kuiseliu. At the time of my stay in this village 26 years earlier, he had been a small boy, but he still remembered me well. It was interesting to note how the memory gradually came back to him when I played on my violin the same melody that I had played many times in the Maimaiere village among the Kuiseliu Bakairí. He asked one of the other Bakairí what my name was, and when I told him that my name was "Doctor Hacuma," he knew at once that his memory had not deceived him and he greeted me as an old acquaintance. Naturally, from this moment on he frequented my house with his small son, Lavinia, whose native name was Kazura, and with the other Bakairí. And since some /[illegible]/ of these Bakairí were quite familiar with the Portuguese language I had a good chance to take down linguistic notes and to obtain at the same exact data on the changes which had taken place with respect to conditions among the Bakairí since my former journey. Among other news they told me that old Cacique Reginaldo had lived on for a long time and had

551 191 126

222 159

/20 cont./

died a short time before. Cacique Kachi, who in times past had received me so hospitably in Maimaiore aldea, was still living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already old and had remained with his family and a few people at the location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí. Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Buriraial, and the Rio Paranatinga belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not enjoy near the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí Pires, was named Cacique of the Kuiguenas in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of the post of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me especially that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Carozate and his brother-in-law Chuva, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Jacuhiba, had died since.

In the course of the journey which I finally undertook, leaving Cuiabá on January 2nd, 1937, I was able to make only a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldeia, but he himself visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.) I was very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no use by now, however, he had after her death three wives by his second wife. The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also

Schmidt--24 E-9 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SFT Bancroft SFT

/29 cont./

met one of the Baiaut who had accompanied me in the year 1901 on my journey to the Rio Kutiatto. He was already very old and he was ill, his body being covered with tumors.

When I reached the Simões Lopes Post I met with highly unfavorable circumstances. My pack oxen were the first to reach Simões Lopes after the long interruption of all traffic between the post and the capital Cuiabá caused by the revolutionaries led by Peixoto. For this reason there was at that time a scarcity of /30/ provisions, and in addition there was among the Indians a bad epidemic of malaria, which the head of the post, Señor Benedito, and his family also had. The post at the time was still at the same location where it was first established, where José Cursino had had his aldea before, and thus 13 kilometers downriver from the old aldea of the Paranatinga Baiaut and two kilometers inland on the right side of the river near the small Córrego Azul. It consisted of some administrative buildings (cf. Figure 3) and some 20 ranches for the Baiaut Indians (cf. Figures 4, 6, and 7). There is no doubt that all the Baiaut lived at this time in areas near the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Teles Pires) and had relations with the Simões Lopes Post, but only part of them lived at the post, and since the plantations of the individual Indian families were rather far from the settlement, the Indians who lived at the post also stayed temporarily in their small houses built near their plantations.

In the middle of the post was the house of the Baiaut, Pires, whom the administration had entrusted with the ratiocamp over the Baiaut who had moved from the region of the upper Xingu River and who were called Xinguanos. (Cf. Figures 4 and 5.)

In one of the houses of the post I met the Baiaut, Lucho, who came from the first aldea on the Rio Kutiatto, who with Coronel Tunayoup had accompanied Karl von den Steinen on his expedition and who is shown in a photograph in the book Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. As shown in the photograph in Figure 8, he had grown quite old since and was

[10 cont.]

dressed in European manner, and with his rough beard he bears little resemblance to the photograph taken by Karl von den Steinen some 30 yrs earlier. In another house there still lived Luiza Kayabi, whom Karl von den Steinen had met when she was the young bride of old Cacique Cuiussu.

Most of the Bakairí whom I had known 26 years before in Margot and Mairum aldeia had perished in a flu epidemic that had occurred here among the population of Mato Grosso, some years earlier. Since the high number of deaths among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River was attributed to the witchcraft of evil neighboring tribes, especially the Metuktíre and the Naháukuá, who in turn envious of the economic benefits derived by the Bakairí from their contact with civilization, all the Bakairí of the Posto and Culuene river had moved to the Rio Paranatinga. Continually petty jealousies and other discords had caused the Bakairí, called Kuiussu, not to get along with their fellow tribes on the Paranatinga, and for this reason they had settled at some distance from the post, farther downriver. [Outside line of these Kuiussu settlements at the place where the Rikbe Azul enters the Rio Paranatinga. It was situated on the far side of the river and consisted of two small houses. (Cf. Figure 21 and 22.) A little farther downriver I reached a Bakairí plantation near which was a rancho occupied by some Apiaká. (Cf. Figure 23.)

[11] From there path led to the principal settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from the Rio Culuene. It consisted of two rather large ones. (Cf. Figure 17.) I was told that a little farther downriv there were some more settlements, and among them also th of my old friend from Mairum aldeia, Karib. I had already learned Karib when I visited Cacique Antonio, and he had recognized me. He was no longer cacique, and I was told that the time of my stay in Mairum he had merely been a temporary cacique in the place of his brother who was then away. He had grown much older and no longer

[21 cont.]

had people at his command so that he no doubt lived in great poverty. Some time later he visited me at the Sundhe Lapeo Post and brought me a beautiful bow with arrows and an old-[illegible] axe made of stone and shell beads.

During my stay at Sundhe Lapeo I twice visited the Kinguano settlement situated on the Rio Parauetinga, and each time I was received very kindly and entertained well by the inhabitants, among whom I still found some acquaintances from Maimaieni. There I again met Marcellino Camunga and his family (cf. Figures 15-17), and also the son of the Bakairí, Chuva, who had accompanied me on my previous trip from the Rio Parauetinga to Maimaieni aldea and who had since died. The son of the Chuva, called André, had been raised on the ranch of Jango Neves so that he was good at the tasks related to a trip with pack oxen. I hired him for the rest of my journey, and I must mention here that he was always a good and faithful companion on my trip to the Kayabí Post, Pedro Dantas, and on the return to Cuiabá, at one time being my only companion and going through many difficulties with me. I still remember one day, when things were going very badly for us, he said to me, "My father, before, always stayed near you on your trip, and so now I may near you too."

Also on the right side of the Rio Parauetinga but some distance from the river and beyond the Rio Vermelho that flows into the river below the Sundhe Lapeo Post, was the settlement of the Bakairí who had moved from their two aldeias situated on the Rio Novo. The cacique of this group of Bakairí was at this time a man of advanced age called Roberto. (Cf. Figure 18.) The settlement consisted of 11 houses, only three of which were occupied at the time. But besides these houses Roberto also had a house at the Sundhe Lapeo Post itself, where he occasionally stayed with his people. On leaving Sundhe Lapeo to continue my journey to the Pedro Dantas Post, I had the opportunity to visit the houses of the Bakairí who had come from the Rio Novo,

/fil cont./

114 but unfortunately I encountered only a few inhabitants of the aldea because Roberto was busy at the plantation with most of his people.

114 115 At the Sandbar Lagoon Post itself there lived several Bakairí who had been for some time in the employ of the Post administration and who were familiar with the tasks involved with dealing with pack oxen. (Cf. /fil/ Figures 9-11.) One of these was employed especially as a carpenter. (Cf. Figure 9.) It was interesting for me to meet one of these Bakairí, called Bernardino, who with some other Bakairí had accompanied Colonel Fawcett on his last trip to the tributaries of the Xingu River, and who for this reason could give me some exact data on the last events prior to the disappearance of this unfortunate explorer. According to this information, already before /his disappearance/ the Colonel's behavior had seemed very strange 114 to the Bakairí. They said that before his last trip he had undertaken a journey to the Rio Paranatinga region with some Bakairí, pushing blindly in a certain direction until his pack oxen fell exhausted, so that he had to abandon all his equipment on the plain. Returning to Sandbar Lagoon, he had hired Leonardo and some other Bakairí to send him with his son and another youth, who was said to have been ill already, to the tributaries of the Xingu River. From there he had then ordered all his guides to return because he wished to continue the journey accompanied only by his son and by the above-mentioned fellow countrymen. Since that time there had been no news of him, and all those who are familiar with conditions in these regions insofar as its southern climate, impenetrable forests, rapids, and total lack of available game in many of its parts are concerned, will share my opinion that these conditions preclude the possibility of Fawcett still being alive. It is probable that but a short time after the departure of the Bakairí he and his two companions dropped exhausted and helpless somewhere on the plain or a hill, so that we need not assume necessarily that their death was brought about through the violence of some

/12 cont./

114 enemy Indian. Just as an unceasing search for the "marvels" in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River finally broke the health of Officer Paulo Castro 25 years before, so too Colonel Fawcett perished in the same region in his fantastic race for the "mysterious city."

177 178 Although in the year 1927 nearly all the Bakairí dressed in European-type garments and lived in Brazilian-style ranches, and although they had also adopted many other articles of European culture, there survived among them various articles of their native culture with which I shall deal in the section that follows.

361 Already at the time of my stay among the Bakairí at Sundhy Lopes there was frequent talk of an imminent move of the post. The Indians were not satisfied with their present location because in times of drought there was no water available except at a great distance, and because there was no ground suitable to make plantations in the immediate vicinity of the post. As for the selection of a place for the new post, the opinions of the Indians differed a great deal, and it was interesting to note that the Kuiguaos especially wanted the location to be closer to the capital, Cuiabá, while the Paraviangaos, on the contrary, wanted a place which would be beyond the Rio Paraviangas.

[114] /13/ We learned a few details concerning the later conditions of the Bakairí who lived in the new Sundhy Lopes Post from Vincent M. Petrullo, who in the year 1931 undertook a survey carried out in part with pack oxen, by water, and in part by air to the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, passing this Indian post along the way. (13) According to

13. Vincent M. Petrullo.
"Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso, Brazil." The Museum Journal.
Vol. XXIII. Number 2. Philadelphia.
pp. 127-130.

361 (Fin cont.) According To
648 Petrullo the new post is situated on top of a mountain some distance from the edge of the Rio Paranatinga. The post itself consisted of some excellent administrative buildings, and at some distance from these stood the Bakairí aldeas, so that the Indians kept a certain independence. The post had a school which tried
[871] to teach the Bakairí youth to read and write in the Portuguese language and the rudiments of arithmetic. The administration
[231] kept a herd of cattle, and each of the Bakairí wished to have some oxen and cows.

114 Without wishing to malign Petrullo's precious information,
648 I must note below some points on which I cannot quite agree
177 with his opinions, because they contradict my experiences
241 among these Indians. I believe that a false impression of the previous living conditions of the Bakairí in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River led to Petrullo's interpretations when he says that the past administration had not experimented in order to change the Bakairí, who in former times had led a semi-nomadic life, into a sedentary group of agriculturalists. The Bakairí of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River were, like all the other Indian tribes of the Rio Kuliseu, with the possible exception of the Trumaí, a typical agricultural people. The tasks related to agriculture made up the chief part of their occupations, and they had extensive plantations in the vicinity of their houses. They led a totally sedentary existence in their aldeas, even moving these closer to their plantations when the latter, owing to the successive exploitation of the land on the clayey hill, were little by little moved too distant
[231] from their houses. Livestock they did not have, so that there has been a change in their way of life at the post, with the transformation of a previously agricultural people into a people who raise cattle, no doubt to get a bigger income.

226 Also, I cannot believe that the unusual abundance of fish
114 in the Rio Paranatinga, extolled in former times by the Bakairí, should have dwindled so thoroughly as to warrant Petrullo's observation, "There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga.

Aschmann--40 F-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT Bancroft SPT

226 114 /(3) cont./
at least up to where the post is situated /cited in English/."
At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrumchán
fish was held as the most precious beast in the country of the
Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most
beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to me among all
its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his ans-
wer was /the/ matrumchán. Later at the aldea, then situated
farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty
matrumchán, and when I visited the Kinguaun in the year 1927
at their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me
fish. Of course, it may be that the abundance of fish in the
Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

114 199 283 352 I also regard as incorrect Ehrenreich's observation that the
Bakairí of the past had substituted hammocks made of cotton
thread for the ancestral ones of burití fiber. From the beginning
the hammocks made of cotton thread were typical especially of
the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu
River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of burití fiber used
by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of
Karl von den Steinen's expedition, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 338.

114 199 304 Paranatinga had hammocks made of burití fiber, which, they
said, old Cacique Custano had introduced among them. So Ehr-
enreich's opinion that the custom of tying the upper incisors
is unusual with the Bakairí and that they will retain it, I must
contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the

Archimedes--41 F-3 (1901.102"-1951) 1947 NPT Rakaia NPT

/34 cont./

114 191 304 ● ordinaries of the upper Kenge River never had the custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Sundhen Lopes Post file there north, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

165 164 648 We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspectoria do Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

622 159 198 Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the start of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Caetano Antunes.

184 198 199 ## II. Change and Community in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Sundhen Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Kenge River, had still retained some of the articles of their /Tiri/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Kuikuro and to a

(All rights)

285 531 walls of the resulting basket will show uniform striping running horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show striping running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book [48].)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 314, Fig. 181.

285 184 531 Already on my trip made in the year 1901, I found among the Kaiowáu Indians a kind of basket which, in its external form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in terms of the structure of the plaiting of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A loop

49. Ibid., pp. 301-302.

in scanning the head lengths by me from the same Indians, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the spiral figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of these baskets (50) has the diagram shown in Figure 31. On my

(184) (124)

50. Ibid., p. 414, Fig. 272.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Indians at Bonito [also] several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of the kind shown in Figure 31 (V.B. 9896, height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 31 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), 41 (V.B. 9869, height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 23 cm. Width of the upper rim 26.5 cm.), and 42 (V.B. 9881, height 21 cm. Width of the bottom 25 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the basket; that of the basket shown in Figure 41 has four

Plate I

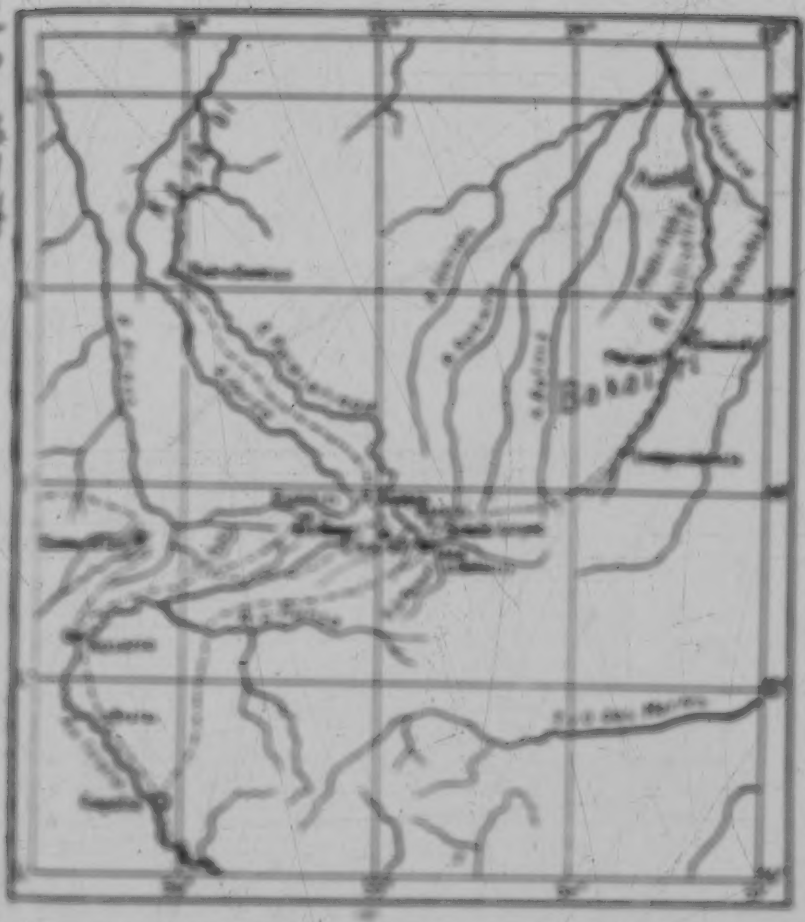

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Plate VIII

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Fig. 13. Natasoni, son of the Sangwaso Kapinga, in Sunday Lapel.

114
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291
546

Fig. 14. The suitor with Singwaso in front of their house, situated near the Parsonage.

/209/

In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Baldus/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the secret rites, or ritual seclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned in a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their technology. On the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

The Bakairí now number about 200 individuals, according to the estimates of the Indian Protection Service, /210/ in 1947. They live in villages in Mato Grosso, at the Simões Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

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Rio Novo, also in that state. The Serdien Lapes Indians claim that in the past all the Bakairí lived in a village by the Paranatinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal

2. For a better discussion of the possible origin of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bakairí/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

disputes, part moved to the north on the Rio Culuene, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Serdien Lapes Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Service. The Rio Novo Bakairí, particularly as a whole, adopted the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service. As for the Serdien Lapes Indians, although they are quite acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture. They all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano villages, and make good informants.

As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall not mention the best. Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one

[illegible] (1947) 1950 SPT Bakairi SPT

/Bibliography/

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

(113) 3. Capistrano de Abreu,
"Os Bacairys /The Bakairi/."
Revista Brasileira, Year I,
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairi aldeias, (4) which

(113) 4. Karl von den Steinen,
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig, 1886. Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin, 1894.

(129) Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /(3)/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairi beliefs and customs.

199 The Bakairi belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeia consisted of large communal houses,
(347) ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
(348) lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldeia
(344) there was a house, kajutiti, where the ceremonial adornments
of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access
to the kajutiti was open not only to the men but to women
(346) and children as well. Attached to the kajutiti was a small
534 house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
784 bullroarers or bull-roarers, and other sacred objects were kept.
Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

/Sic cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and then introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

/Sic/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omoiro (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (12)

12. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained naked, enclosed in the kajaem. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamiko. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

G-Chang 8-4 (1947)1953 SPT Bacairi SP7

[269-A]

THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrossense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política do São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters of the Tapajos River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 30 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P.77-B]

723 171 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *camiura* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamuschiní, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschiní went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*sewéti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [4]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschiní gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuára

[14] [4] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Atucumagale, Ichoge, Koyuka, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 226, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschiní killed five piqui trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains *tpi* piqui (*ini* - *ge*, with piqui). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two key cups were made. In Portuguese it is called "olho de Boi" (bull's eye). Koyuka (*koyá-ka*, with *koyá*?) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Atucumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyuka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Atucumagale is designated as the wife of Kuára, Mero's son.

Bacairi SP7

Geographically the post is situated ideally on a high land removed from the river and cleared of all vegetation, the jungle appearing only as a narrow fringe along the river banks. Like the rest of the high plateau it is wind swept, and generally pleasant. It must be added that contact with white people, such as is had when a small group of natives go to Cuyabá, has brought syphilis to them, and it may be their mortality is due to this.

One occupation enjoyed in former times is denied them, and that is fishing. There are practically no fish in the Paranatinga, at least up to where the post is located. Since meat is gotten only on rare occasions, and no hunting is done, the diet is mainly one of vegetables and considerably poorer than when they were living in their original state. This may also explain their lowered resistance to disease.

Very little museum material which represents their own products can be collected from the Bakairi. What has not been gotten from the Inspectoria has been brought back on excursions to the Kuluseu. Pottery has not been made since their coming to the post, according to them. The huge vessels that they possess either have been brought with them from their former homes or bartered from the tribes on the Kuluseu. It is claimed that the proper clay cannot be found in the neighborhood of Simões Lopes.

Arrows are still being made, an iron nail generally being substituted for the old bone point, but most of the arrows also come from the Kuluseu.

For the old hammock made of palm-leaf fibre the cotton hammock has been substituted, but the same open net style has been kept.

Mussel shell ornaments have also been bought from the tribes of the Kuluseu. In brief, almost anything that is found in their village must bear the suspicion that it is not a Bakairi product.

However, they have preserved a few customs, such as filing the upper teeth to a point, wearing under the European clothing the gee string, and ceremonial use of the bull-roarer, and they probably remember many of their ceremonies.

The short time spent at the post was mostly devoted to taking anthropometric measurements, which were subsequently lost on the Kuluseu, but in some notes I do find the statement that in blood groupings must belong to groups three and four, the former predominating.

Bacairi SP9
Mato Grosso SP1

B 501 [50]

Nine canoemen, recommended by Major Noronha, were recruited from the Bakairi. The nine included Paglaki, or Marcellino, and Iguarene, both of whom had lived on the Kuluene before they withdrawal of the Bakairi to the post. Both of these men can speak Bakairi to some extent, and are the only men who know how to make both canoes. Unfortunately, their Portuguese is poor, necessitating another interpreter. Their knowledge and skill in matters of river travel made them invaluable, however.

B 501

The Bakairi have the reputation of being the best canoemen of the region. The children are taught to paddle from infancy, and become extremely skilled in paddling the clumsy and heavy canoes. The paddle used is short and narrow, and a quick, short stroke is employed, the paddler shifting his paddle from one side to the other with every two or three strokes. Steering is accomplished more by the lowermen than by the man in the stern. The use of the stern paddle as a rudder is not well understood. Poling is resorted to by the men in the bow when going up the streams, in which case the efforts of the men in the stern are given to guiding the canoe, which is accomplished by quick shifting of the paddling from one side to the other. Among the Bakairi, as indeed among all of the aborigines encountered, the women are as good paddlers as the men, but they never were seen poling.

* * * *

B M 114

As soon as our personnel was completed, with the addition of a young Italian explorer, Giovanni Amoli, who had been forced to abandon his project to reach the Amazon upon reaching the post, our baggage was transferred to the backs of oxen and mules, which were to transport it to the Kuluene river. The men not concerned with driving the oxen went ahead. It was indeed an odd caravan. Mounted men busy with the oxen, men afoot carrying bows and arrows and guns, long-horned oxen, small mules, filed in a long line across the waste of the plateau. All of the men wore a red kerchief wound about the head, and the usual bantering conversation was carried on. The Bakairi, of course, wore trousers and shirts, and even sandals made of old automobile tires, in imitation of the Brazilian caboclos.

B [177] [29]

As we moved eastward and slightly north, it became more often necessary to build bridges for the animals, across small but high-banked

Palo Gatado 94
Bacairi SP?

streams. Under the hot sun this became hard work, but in general the march was a pleasant one. The start in the morning was made at about eight o'clock, unless some beast had wandered too far off, when there was some further delay. A low fog hid the tall grass from sight early in the morning, but soon afterwards it would lift. In the early afternoons would appear white clouds in the skies that had been perfectly clear, enough to enhance the beauty of the country, and no more. The region is windswept, so that though the sun was hot enough the heat was never unbearable. Camp was generally made in the middle afternoon, by some streams, in order to give the oxen a chance to graze. Skies were invariably clear at night. The temperature fell so suddenly that few days after midnight, most preferring to huddle around the fire, to talk and drink coffee, which I allowed. Precipitation was heavy during the night, as was attested by our blankets, which were wringing wet by morning. However, the nights were not so uncomfortable that it would have justified the carrying of heavy tarpaulins.

In this manner we traveled over the rolling country. Sometimes we surprised deer that bounded off before a shot could be had, though several fell to our guns. Once Topi, a short-haired New York fox terrier that accompanied me, roused a tapir; the other dogs joining in the chase, it was bayed and killed, a welcome event, for it supplied us with meat for several days. A puma one day caused a great deal of excitement. On being seen, almost the entire personnel gave chase, whistling lustily, shooting arrows, whooping, yelling and laughing. It was finally shot. Several centong, birds whose meat was found to be excellent, were killed in the jungle patches bordering the streams.

We passed near two deserted village sites which the Bakairi identified as being Kayapó. Traveling on schedule, however, we were not able to stop to investigate archaeological possibilities.

On the sixth day from Simão Lopes we entered more wooded country, necessitating cutting a way through, and on the seventh day we reached the banks of the Kuluene river below the mouth of the Preto. This last day was marked by an accident to one of the tame pack oxen. It fell, breaking its back. For the wild steer that we had taken with us, its face covered with a leather mask so that it could not see where it was going, but naturally followed the other oxen, this was fortunate. The hurt ox was killed and its meat dried. The steer was sent back to the post

S.Petrolia E-5 (1931)(934)
BPS Reports
Photo Collection 104
Box 8: 587

B
P.S.
104

in the morning with the other crew, with another expedition on its way upon. The crew from that had driven the crew also returned to Santa Logan, their fear of attack by the Kayapó hastening their journey back.

We were now totally out of touch with the world that we had left. The undergrowth of a patch of jungle was cleared for our camp. This was always our practice, the insects and the moisture being less troublesome there than in the open. Furthermore we could swing our hammocks between trees, whereas it would have been necessary to set up hammock poles were we to camp in the open. As to danger of attack by the aborigines, it was felt that one is equally safe in the forest.

The following day the Bakairí began the search for suitable jatoba trees, for our canoes were to be made from the bark. The Bakairí set out early, without the customary breakfast, and carrying nothing but their weapons, without which they would not stir from camp. Were a man to eat before setting out to locate the trees he would never find one, they said. In fact, by some fortuitous accident he did, the bark would be too thin, or too thick, or too dry, or would crack. Therefore nothing must be eaten until the trees are found. In the afternoon they returned with news that several had been located and also that a trail marked with broken twigs had been discovered running almost in a circle around our camp, indicating the presence of the Kayapó in the neighborhood. During the night it was claimed that strange calls were heard, but during our stay at this camp we were not molested.

For the comfort of the Brazilian comrades I permitted the making of a dugout canoe, with this sort of watercraft they were familiar, but were distrustful of the bark canoes. Subsequently I had occasion to regret my decision and they their request.

B
S16

In four days the Bakairí made six canoes, two of which were of good size, each capable of carrying an estimated load of fifteen hundred pounds. The dugout was not completed until the seventh day, and it proved hardly serviceable then. Its only baggage was two cases of gasoline, and it gave infinite trouble to its crew in the rapids because of its unwieldiness and great weight.

On the other hand, the jatoba bark canoe is flexible; this feature, combined with the thickness of the bark, diminishes the chances of perforation or capsizing on hitting a submerged rock or tree, which cannot be avoided, especially in the upper waters of the rivers. Such a